

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY KIGALI UNN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USUN NEW YORK 0598

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUJUMBURA 0356

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XJ, US, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET INTEREST IN SECRETARY'S TRIP

1. OBVIOUSLY ACTING IN RESPONSE TO SOME ROUND-ROBIN INSTRUCTION FROM MOSCOW TO ANALYZE SECRETARY'S CURRENT TRIP TO AFRICA, SOVIET AMBASSADOR POZHIDAEV VISITED ME APRIL 27 WITH QUESTIONS ABOUT MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES OF TRIP. I REFERRED HIM TO SPEECH WHICH SECRETARY WAS ABOUT TO MAKE IN LUSAKA AND ADDED THAT SECRETARY UNDOUBTEDLY WISHED TO MAKE CLEAR OUR SUPPORT FOR AFRICA'S ASPIRATIONS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TERMINATION OF MINORITY WHITE RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. EQUALLY IMPORTANT WOULD BE THE MESSAGE THAT WE WANTED NO SUPERPOWER RIVALRY IN AFRICA. THIS WAS WHAT HAD SO DISTURBED US ABOUT SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, AND A CONTINUATION OF SUCH BEHAVIOR COULD CERTAINLY JEOPARDIZE MUCH MORE FUNDAMENTAL SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS ELSEWHERE. I SPECULATED THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR ON AFRICA, OF WHICH NEITHER HE NOR I WERE AWARE, BUT THE SECRETARY WAS NOW MAKING EXPLICIT OUR VIEW THAT FURTHER AMERICAN-SOVIET COMPETITION IN AFRICA WOULD BE A DANGEROUS

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DISSERVICE TO AFRICA'S CAUSE.

2. POZHIDAEV SAID THAT IF THE U.S. WERE NOW COMMITTED TO BRINGING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA, THEN THERE WOULD BE NO BASIS FOR SUPERPOWER RIVALRY, BUT ONLY GROUNDS FOR COLLABORATION. I SAID THAT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS WERE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; EVEN THOUGH BLATANT RACIAL INJUSTICE PREVAILED IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE SITUATION WAS SO DIFFERENT AND SO MUCH MORE COMPLICATED THAT IT SHOULD NOT DIVERT ENERGIES FROM THE MORE PRESSING ISSUES. AS FOR SOVIET-U.S. COLLABORATION, IT WOULD BE GOOD IF THE TWO COUNTRIES SAW EYE TO EYE ON SUCH OBJECTIVES AS MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA, AND IT WAS NATURAL THAT EACH MIGHT WANT TO GIVE SOME SUPPORT TO AFRICAN GROUPS FIGHTING FOR THE SAME OBJECTIVES. HOWEVER, THERE WAS A LINE BEYOND WHICH SUPPORT BECAME FOREIGN INTERVENTION AIMED AT PROMOTING THE FORTUNES OF PARTICULAR FACTIONS IN THE HOPE OF ACQUIRING INFLUENCE OVER A FUTURE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE EXTREME EXAMPLE OF THIS HAD BEEN SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN ANGOLA, BUT EVEN LESS FAR-REACHING MOVES COULD THREATEN TO CREATE SIMILAR PROBLEMS. THUS, IF THERE WERE REALLY TO BE U.S.-SOVIET COLLABORATION (WHICH POZHIDAEV AGAIN INTERJECTED WAS HIGHLY DESIRABLE), IT MIGHT BEST TAKE THE FORM OF BILATERAL DIALOGUE TO REACH UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT MUTUAL RESTRAINT IN WHAT EACH DID TO BACK UP LIBERATION MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES.

3. POZHIDAEV ASKED WHETHER THE SECRETARY WAS NOT HIMSELF FAVORING CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES "CLOSE TO THE U.S." I SAID THAT HE WAS FOCUSING ON COUNTRIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS. HE HAD VISITED TANZANIA WHOSE FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS WERE NOT AT ALL LIKE OURS, AND WE WERE OFFERING SUPPORT TO MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH ALSO HAD A DIFFERENT ORIENTATION. WE WERE AGAINST SPLITTING UP AFRICANS AND AFRICAN STATES, AND I HOPED THAT SOVIET DOCTRINE ABOUT BACKING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WOULD NOT LEAD THE USSR AGAIN, AS IN ANGOLA, TO SUPPORT ITS OWN FAVORITE FACTIONS. HE SAID THAT ANYONE FIGHTING COLONIALISM WOULD HAVE SOVIET SYMPATHY, BUT HE ADMITTED THAT IT WAS VERY HARD TO AGREE ON SUCH DEFINITIONS AS TO WHO WAS "ANTI-COLONIAL", GENUINELY "DEMOCRATIC", ETC. STILL HE HOPED THAT UNDERSTANDINGS COULD BE REACHED (PRESUMABLY BY THE U.S. AND USSR) ON THE SPECIFIC CASE OF RHODESIA.

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